5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air

vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had constantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)* as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin: 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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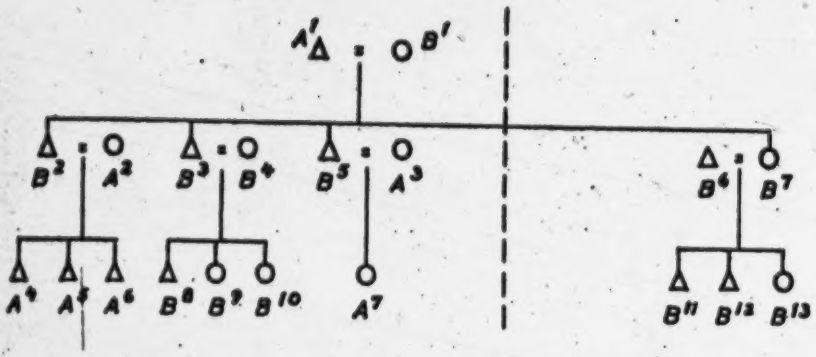

Fig. 103. Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe (A^1) and a woman of the *Dag Ɣali* tribe (B^1). The *A*-people belong matrilineally to the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe, the *B*-people to the *Dag Ɣali*.

People living with the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

At the death of A^1 of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe all persons will settle in the territory of the *Dag Ɣali* tribe with maternal kinsmen of B^1, and they will remain there also after the death of B^1.

At the death of B^2 his wife A^2 and her children A^4–A^6 will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe as will be the case with A^3 and her child A^7 at the death of B^5. At the death of B^3 his wife B^4 and children B^8–B^{10} will remain with the *Dag Ɣali*.

People living with the *Dag Ɣali* tribe.

If B^6 dies while A^1 is still alive, B^7 and her children B^{11}–B^{13} will go back to the camp of A^1 in the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* territory. After the death of A^1 they will return to the *Dag Ɣali* to join the camp of B^2, B^3, and B^5. [768]

If for instance B^3 kills a man of a third tribe (e.g., the *Ayt Lawayen*) the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Ɣali* tribes are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as A^1 is alive and B^3 lives with the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe. If A^1 has died and B^3 consequently lives with the *Dag Ɣali*, this latter tribe alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth. [682] [672]

(3) After the death of the husband's father the couple will join the husband's matrilineal kinsmen (his mother's brothers) together with his mother should she still be alive.

(4) At the husband's death his wife and their children will move back to the wife's kinsmen. [768]

As may be seen from this complicated rule of residence, a single death may in fact give rise to a change of territory and camp for a great many people. This is illustrated in Fig. 103 which depicts the rules of residence in the light of actual marriages between the two vassal tribes, *Dag Ɣali* and *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 [428] [565] Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Ṭarhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 565 631 423 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). [643] [162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory [578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is